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the imported traits found in Tepoztlán have entered into this general culture. Some traits of material culture occur in Tepoztlán, particularly in houses near the central *plaza*, which are not a part of the general culture. Though perfectly familiar, they are possessed only by individuals more used to modern city customs, and are regarded by the majority of the population as exterior to the common life. Features such as these have not entered into the culture because too expensive (brick floors; iron grilles) or because their general acceptance would involve radical changes in existing techniques (the fork). There is, therefore, a classification which corresponds with subjective categories, between the integrated Tepoztecan culture, on the one hand, and secondary, exterior elements, on the other. These exterior elements are thought of as attributes of city life, that is, of modern industrial civilization. They are brought down to Tepoztlán by people used to city ways. When a Tepoztecan goes to the city he to a certain extent temporarily assumes the material culture of the metropolis. He has, not infrequently, a separate costume for city wear: dark trousers, a dark hat, and shoes, worn only on visits to the city. This simple fact expresses the nature of the community of Tepoztlán: no longer a primitive tribal society nor yet an urbanized community, it must nevertheless be defined, as it tends to define itself, with reference to the world-wide city culture within which it is now included.

The following table lists some features of the ma-

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177 terial culture in columns representing the categories
●369 suggested.

General Tepoztecan Culture			Secondary Elements
Indian Elements	Mixed Elements	Spanish Elements	
MEN'S CLOTHING			
[291] Sandals	*Zarape*	Undergarments; shirt; trousers; vest; blouse; straw hat	Dark trousers; shoes; felt hat
WOMEN'S CLOTHING			
(*Quechquemitl; pitzcueitl*)		The *rebozo* and almost all other clothing	Shoes
THE HOUSE			
[342] General form and materials: *Temazcal*, granaries; turkeys	Water-tank	Tiled roofs; hinged doors; chickens, pigs	Balconies; brick floor; iron grilles
HOUSE FURNISHINGS			
[354] *Petate; otate* bed; *tlequil; olla; metate; comal; molcajete; chiquihuite; tompiate*	*Cazuelas; jarros; bateas;* benches; stools	Table; candles; oilcans; water-carrier; *machete;* sewing machine	Brass bed; phonograph; oil lamp; forks Backed chairs; Brazier
FOODS AND STIMULANTS			
[262] [276] [273] *Tortillas; moles; tamales; atoles:* beans; maize; *chile;* squash; tomatoes, *pulque*	*Tortas;* tobacco	Bananas and citrus fruits; sugar; spices; rice; lima beans; beef and pork; chickens and eggs; coffee; *aguardiente*	Canned foods; beer

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General Tepoztecan Culture			Secondary Elements
Indian Elements	Mixed Elements	Spanish Elements	
AGRICULTURE			
Pointed stick	*Coa*	Plow	
TRANSPORT			
Ayate; chiquihuite; mecapal; huacal; bule	*Morrales*	Horses; mules; *burros*; oxen	
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS			
Teponaztli	*Chirimia*	Guitar; cornet	Phonograph; violin
INDUSTRIES			
Weaving; adobe-making		Brick- and tile-making; iron-working; carpentering; shoemaking; breadmaking	Bottling drinks

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merchants of Tepoztlán and of the satellite villages there come regularly textile sellers from Mexico City and pottery vendors from Cuernavaca, as well as occasional wandering merchants from other and more distant towns.[1] The market day is also a news day.

The importance of Sunday probably varies directly in proportion to the degree to which the individual has taken on city ways. It is not an Indian institution, and in busy season at least *los tontos* do not observe it as a day of rest. But characteristically all classes put on their best clothes on Sunday. When the priest is there the more Catholic may attend mass in the *Templo Mayor*. Sometimes, the "new orchestra" may play in the little bandstand in the *plaza*. Such sophisticated refinements are promoted by the more city-wise minority—*los correctos*.

Like all the simpler peoples, whose food and whose occupations are directly dependent upon seasonal changes, the Tepoztecans are closely attentive to the

[1] There follows a list, not quite complete, of goods sold in the regular bi-weekly markets. Of course the limitation "in season" applies to many of the fruits: (1) Produced in Tepoztlán or the satellite villages: oranges; bananas; *chayotes; manzanillos* (*tejocotes*); limes; lemons (rare); avocados; plums; chirimoyas; mameys; sapotes (four or five kinds); tomatoes; husk tomatoes; sugar cane; *pitos;* acacia pods (*guajes*, N. *guaxi*); peanuts; tamarind beans; coffee; squash seeds; acacia seeds; beans (several kinds); maize; coriander; *manzanillo* jelly; clotted cream; honey; pine kindling; lime; eggs; medicinal herbs. (2) Produced outside the valley: potatoes, onions, and rarely other vegetables, from Cuernavaca; occasional vegetables, as beets, carrots, lettuce, rosemary, small squashes, from Xochimilco, Federal District; pottery from Cuernavaca, from Toluca, and from the state of Puebla; baskets from southern Morelos; leather thongs for sandals and fiber nets (*ayates*) from Cuautla; zarapes and mats, from Toluca and elsewhere; lima beans and such spices as *pimienta*, cloves, and cumin seed, from Mexico City; textiles and notions from Mexico City. Other supplies, and also some that are on these lists, are bought in the stores.

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celebrated far more than any of those in the calendar of urbanized Mexico. It is the Independence Day of Tepoztlán, the Independence Day of our own history at a stage when the Declaration of Independence was still read before the fireworks.

It is, probably, an old occasion once truly religious, now in the process of secularization. The *fiestas* of the *santos* redefine symbols which are still clearly distinct gods. But the general state of holidays in Tepoztlán suggests something intermediate between the condition in a primitive tribe and that in modern city life. The holidays of Tepoztlán are still individual, unique, each with its special ritual. For the *fiesta* of Los Reyes the *castillo* must be made in a certain shape; for the *fiesta* of Ixcatepec it is traditional for certain dances to be done. The mere cookery of the festal occasions is still differentiated and assumes a sacred character. On Palm Sunday one eats *revoltijo;* on Easter Sunday one eats meat *tamales;* on the Day of the Dead several special dishes are prepared; on the days which celebrate *santos*, and on no others, one eats *mole verde.*

As urbanization progresses, it may be ventured, festal cookery becomes less specialized; ice-cream becomes—ice-cream. The holidays lose their special rituals; they tend to become all alike in what is done and in the meaning they come to have—a generalized Saturnalia without special symbolism. They become commercialized; they are consciously reformed. To this end the holidays of Tepoztlán have not yet ar-

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rived. But just to the extent to which the people take account of the coming of city visitors to the carnival, to the *Altepe-ilhuitl*, and modify the celebration in terms of the pocket-books and attitudes of the visitors, to that extent the change is promoted.

On the other hand, the Tepoztecan holidays are no longer like those of a primitive tribe. Under the impact of the Conquest and the substitution of a strange hagiology, the ancient formal religious organization disappeared. Therefore the philosophy of the priests, the specialized explanatory myths which accompanied the rituals, the whole elaborate rationalizing paraphernalia, is gone. What survives is not a ritual system in its exuberant period, but a flattened, generalized system of ceremonial which year by year is slowly becoming more generalized and more secular under the influence of modern city ways.

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"head," much like the "poll" in our "poll tax." Co-operative repair of streets is *cuatequitl.* The co-operative labor by which harvests are brought in is *cuatequitl.* So is the co-operative work done in connection with the support of the *santos;* the cleaning of the chapels, and the preparation of the chapel and its yard for a *fiesta.* Such work is regarded as the moral obligation of the individual to perform. The request of an elder to join in such work is not lightly denied. The limited observation upon which these statements are founded would suggest that such requests tend to assume an almost ritualistic character; the request is almost a formula. A group of men go about from house to house, announcing the proposed work. One says, characteristically, "*moztla mitztocaroa cuatequitl*" ("Tomorrow it falls to you to do *cuatequitl* [of a certain sort]").[1] The word *cuatequitl* is always used.

Cuatequitl is, quite plainly, the survival of communal labor reported from both the Aztec and the Maya areas. It is probably characteristic of all parts of Mexico where Indian heritages are strong.

There are, however, a score or more classes of specialists in Tepoztlán, and a description of the extent to which labor is divided is, as always, a description of the intellectual life of the community. A special interest to the situation in Tepoztlán is derived from the fact that the specialists there fall into two distinct classes, one of which represents the self-sufficient

[1] In this Nahuatl phrase the Spanish verb *tocar* ("to fall to the turn of," "to pertain to") is used as though it were a Nahuatl root.

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463 primitive community that Tepoztlán once was, and
[369] the other of which represents the part of modern urbanized society that it is becoming.

An enumeration of Tepoztecan specialists is not an enumeration of an equal number of individuals; it scarcely need be pointed out that many individuals practice more than one specialty. Some special functions, as those of the musicians, are very occasional.
[533] [565] It is noteworthy that in most cases it is a *correcto* who exercises more than one special function.

E. V. was born and brought up in Tepoztlán. His family were
[532] by tradition those who made masks for the carnival, and he con-
[333] tinues to exercise this function. When a youth he learned the
[322] trade of a mason. Later he went to Mexico City. There he learned woodcarving and gilding; these occupations he occasionally practices now that he is back in Tepoztlán. In Mexico City he was for a time a street-car motorman. Now, returned to Tepoztlán, he has a minor position in the municipal government. Occasionally he functions as mason, woodcarver, or gilder, and during the proper season makes masks for the carnival. He also tills his ancestral *milpa*.

L. V. lives in the house where he was born. During the revolution he went to Mexico City and remained there seven years.
[333] While there he learned shoemaking. Either there or in Tepoztlán
[294] he also learned the mason's trade. Now, back in Tepoztlán, he has a cobbler's shop, occasionally works as a mason, and is also sometimes called upon as a musician. He tills his cornfield also.

The following inventory of specialists is probably not quite complete, either as to the number of occupations represented or as to the number of individuals practicing a given occupation.

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Two teachers, a young man and a young woman: Both are natives, of distinctly *correcto* families, and both were educated in the city. Both wear city clothes all the time and have no other specialty but teaching.

The priest should be mentioned, although during the period of investigation there was no priest officiating in Tepoztlán, as there was not elsewhere in Mexico. He was a man of *correcto* family, well educated in the city.

Five storekeepers: These are men of some capital. They have small shops on the *plaza*. On the whole they devote their time to trade. Each makes frequent trips to Mexico City to buy goods. Most become tradespeople on a small scale or minor commercial employees in Mexico City during the revolution; it does not appear that any one of them inherited the business. Besides these five storekeepers there are two young men who flavor and charge water and bottle the result for local sale. These men have considerable communication with the city.

Two corn-factors: These men buy the locally produced surplus maize, arrange for its shipment to Mexico City, and there sell it wholesale.

Three butchers: Their shops are on the *plaza*. The meat is butchered locally.

Two shoemakers: One, a cripple, learned his trade from an earlier shoemaker in Tepoztlán; the other learned it in Mexico City.

Three carpenters: One man has a shop on the *plaza;* the others work in their homes. Tools are simple and few, all of European pattern. These men make furniture, doors, and candlesticks for the churches, also coffins and saddles. Information is lacking as to where each learned his trade.

Four masons: These men lay brick floors, and build walls and water tanks, occasional columns and porticoes on the better

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463 houses of *adobe* or stone covered with *mezcla*.[1] The tools are European, except the *coa*,[2] the old agricultural hoe which masons [333] sometimes use to mix *mezcla*. The cost of bringing in cement [342] practically eliminates concrete work. One mason learned his trade in Mexico City, another in Tepoztlán, and a third from a North American railway engineer who employed him as a common laborer to assist in building culverts on the railway near El Parque.

[321] Two ironworkers: These men make *machetes* and incidental ironwork. Information is lacking as to their history.

[252] Six bakers: In the case of two, the trade was learned in a larger city; information is lacking on the others. Each does his [439] baking in a domed *adobe* oven of early Spanish pattern, built in his own houseyard. Wheat flour is imported from the city. Wild [252] yeast is used. The dough is put into the oven on wooden paddles. Many of the special types of bread recognized in the cities are [369] made here too.

[326] Silversmiths: Although these specialists are referred to by this name [*plateros*], and although they do occasional work in silver,[3] they are the odd-job men of Tepoztlán. Each operates a small homemade forge, and is equipped with workbench, vises, punches, soldering implements, etc. They do construction and repair work in metal; repair watches, phonographs, and what little other machinery there is in Tepoztlán. One picked up most of his knowledge while in Mexico City.

[305] Five barbers: This occupation is distinctly an occasional one. The equipment is no more than a razor and shears.

[533] An indeterminable number of musicians. Many men—women rarely—play musical instruments. Sometimes permanent organi-

[1] A mixture of lime and sand.

[2] Already described on p. 50.

[3] Usually silver ritualistic paraphernalia for the church.

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178 776 *ahuahque* are the mountain-dwelling, terrifying gods of thunder and rain, and are not connected with disease.

755 757 These limited materials suggest that in general the medical treatments in use in Tepoztlán are like those of all folk communities—a stock of traditional curative acts tending to be ritualistic. But, to a certain extent, there is available to an afflicted invididual the [369] choice of applying remedies of the city. Not a few have lived in the city and have learned to use some of [278] the drugs in official pharmacopeias. One or two in- [444] dividuals in Tepoztlán keep a few commercial drugs on hand for sale. There are drug stores in Cuernavaca, and not infrequently an individual, even a *tonto*, [484] will walk there to secure a medicine. A prolonged [752] toothache, which has survived the ministrations of the herbalist, may cause the sufferer to go to Cuernavaca to have the tooth extracted.

177 757 It might be supposed that this choice of remedial systems would in time bring about an experimental attitude on the part of Tepoztecans and favor the extension of rational conduct in the treatment of disease and the corresponding diminution of magical behavior. A collection of cases might show the mech- [369] anisms of the process. What affect the city ways are having on the attitude toward disease is, however, probably slowly felt, and so far the traditional cures are paramount. During two or three months of 1925 [759] or 1926 a Bulgarian doctor,[1] one of the few Europeans

[1] Known to the Tepoztecans as a German.

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"Oh, no, I have no copy-book." To know and to be able to sing the current songs is a common ambition of young boys. It is an advantage to be able to write. A girl of fourteen of the largely illiterate *barrio* of Los Reyes was the only one of her family to have a knowledge of writing. Although *corridos* are a part of a man's world, not a woman's, her elder brother was forced to ask her to help him in writing down a song he wanted to learn. Her prestige was correspondingly increased.

At the same time the supremacy of these local songs is not unchallenged. Songs of the city are occasionally heard in Tepoztlán. There are several phonographs, and these aid in making city songs popular. The songs of urban Mexico are much like our sentimental songs. As the urbanization of Tepoztlán slowly progresses, the city songs will become more usual; there will be a shift of emphasis from folk song to popular song.[1]

[1] One convention of city sentiment prevails in Tepoztlán. As elsewhere in Mexico, it is customary to give a person on his birthday colored postcards depicting white blonde women and men in European attire in attitudes of banal affection, amid turtledoves and flowers. These cards are as customary as the *mañanitas* on birthday mornings.

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CHAPTER XII

THE FOLK IN A CITY WORLD

In Mexico, as in European countries with more or less illiterate peasant populations, the sharpest cultural differences are not between one region and another but between the city people and the country people. This difference is, of course, even greater in those Latin-American countries where the city people derive their traditions from, and continue to communicate with, the European world, while the country people are largely Indian in tradition and do not easily communicate with the city. It is a circumstance of importance that the same classes, based upon the degree of familiarity with city ways, exist, on a much smaller scale, in Tepoztlán. They have already been several times referred to in these pages as *los correctos* and *los tontos*. The periodic revolutions afford, it would seem, a mechanism whereby this difference between the classes is from time to time re-emphasized and the tendency for them to merge is checked.

It is probable that these classes have existed for centuries in Tepoztlán. Tradition says that Martin Cortés, son of the conqueror, lived for a time in Tepoztlán and used the chapel of La Santísima as his private oratory. Certain heavy stone walls and ruined arches across the street from this chapel are pointed out as the vestiges of his residence. When he and his

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dependents came there, they must at once have constituted an aristocracy of Spanish culture. This must have been but one of a series of periods of development and partial sophistication that were successively interrupted by periods of disorder. There are other fragments of heavy wall at the north side of the town; all memories of their meaning have apparently disappeared. The latest of these eras of order and urbanization was coincident with the Díaz régime. In the middle of the nineteenth century a family of educated people moved to Tepoztlán from another state. This family contributed the priest, a teacher, and several other members of the Tepoztecan intelligentsia. During this period the first secular school was opened. Several attempts were made to publish local newspapers.[1] In 1895 Francisco Rodriguez, a Tepoztecan who was educated as an engineer, called the attention of the scientific world to the large pre-Columbian temple situated above the town, and reported upon it to the International Congress of Americanists.[2] The work of excavation was done largely by Tepoztecan volunteers. A museum was established in

[1] "More than a half a century ago, nevertheless, literary productions were published in Tepoztlán; nevertheless, the press has hardly been introduced to the population. We remember, for example, 'El Xocoyotzin' of Don José Guadalupe Rojas,—a man never well understood,—a small periodical which was devoted to adult and infant education. A little later, with the introduction of a press in 1882, appeared in the public light 'El Liliputiense,' 'El Mosquito,' 'El Grano de Arena' and still others which were devoted to the development of culture and the illumination of the people" (*El Tepoztéco*, a newspaper published by Tepoztecos in Mexico City in 1921, issue of October 1).

[2] F. Rodriguez, art., "Descripción de la pyramide llamada Casa del Tepozteco. . . . ."

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one of the public buildings. German and North American scientists visited the archaeological ruins and incidentally the town; indeed, the railroad ran special excursion trains to El Parque.

This period of brilliance, like, no doubt, other earlier periods of the sort, was terminated by revolution—that of 1910. Perhaps no other part of Mexico was so swept by the fury of war as was Morelos. For years this state was the scene of sanguinary encounters between Zapatistas and Carranzistas. The railroads were torn up, the sugar mills destroyed, and most of the cattle exterminated. During almost two years Tepoztlán was entirely depopulated except when federal or Zapatista troops occupied the town. Almost all the more substantial houses were partly or entirely destroyed. The little museum was wrecked and its contents scattered. After people began to return, there was a long period of suffering from famine and sickness.[1]

[1] A Zapatista soldier who spent eight years in the campaign, part of this time in the neighborhood of Tepoztlán, his home, described the period thus: "In the time of the revolution, for a long period, Tepoztlán was entirely depopulated. The people went to Mexico, or to the hills. The hills north of the town are full of caves where people lived. Some built lean-tos of cornstalks under big trees. For a time there was enough food. We used to come down from the hills at night to get corn. If there was anybody in the town, it would be Federal troops. We would go very quietly, listening. If we heard nothing, we entered and took the corn. The people who owned fruit trees would come down from the hills by night to rob their own trees.

"The hills were the populated places, the towns the wild places. So we went into the towns to hunt. One day we were out of food. My colonel asked me and some others to get a deer. But I said, 'There are no more deer in the hills. We must go to the towns for a deer.' So we went down into Santiago and there, among the banana trees, we found and killed a deer.

"Later on the food gave out. The cows and bulls had been hunted down and

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During this period there were no civilians in Tepoztlán. Many of the men joined the forces of Zapata. To those who did not was presented the choice of fleeing to the hills or of going to one of the cities, usually Mexico City, where security was greater. The people who were already used to the city and who were more likely to have friends there and to have the money necessary to become established there, went to the city. The poorer people, who were also those least used to city ways, were the ones who went to the hills. Hill exile was a life of isolation, a life of rumor, of reliance upon the most primitive techniques of maintenance.[1]

killed; the corn was eaten up. If an orange was found it was taken quickly and eaten green. Many, many died of hunger, both soldiers and non-combatants. When, after this time, food was obtained again, some died because they ate too much. We began with a half a *tortilla* at a time, and so escaped death from gorging."

[1] A *tonto* of the *barrio* of San Sebastian tells of his experiences: "Times were very horrible during the revolution. At first people stayed in Tepoztlán. J. C. [a *correcto*] was not there, but his father stayed at first, until it grew too bad; and then he too went to Mexico City. Tepoztlán was deserted for two years. The soldiers came and ate the corn, and killed all the animals. The Carranzistas killed what they didn't want to eat; not an animal was left. The troops came at last to eat dogs and cats, there was so little food. No one was safe. Many were killed, and not even buried. If the Carranzistas saw anyone, they shot him without any question.

"Many went to the cities, some to the hills. I went to the hills with my family. There were my father, my mother, and seven brothers. I was sixteen. We lived in a cave in the heights, in that direction [toward Yautepec]. We took the *metates* along. But we had no animals; we carried everything ourselves. We lived by what food we could find in the hills or in the towns, and by what we could sell in Mexico City. We used to carry fruit to Mexico to sell. Fruit was very expensive there. We sold limes at ten *pesos* a hundred. If you could just get a hold of a thousand limes and bring them to Mexico City, you had a hundred *pesos*. We took avocados too. We traveled only at night. It took two nights. When dawn came we camped somewhere in the hills beyond Tres Marías. Xochimilco was the bad place to go through; the Carranzistas waited there and killed many. We brought back soap and salt.

"Then the fever came. Three of my brothers died. Bury them there? No, we

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City exile brought the *émigrés* into competition with the people of the city, and so further sophisticated them. So it was that when after a period of years the inhabitants returned to rebuild their homes the difference between *tontos* and *correctos* had in the meantime been made more distinct.

These periods of exodus to the city render acute the growing self-consciousness of *los correctos*. *Los tontos* live, in spite of revolutions, in the same single mental world of the folk culture. *Los correctos*, on the other hand, develop an intelligentsia who live in two worlds, in two cultures, the city and the folk, and are correspondingly restless and often unhappy. The periods of revolution[1] sharpen the self-consciousness of this intelligentsia; drawn together as temporary expatriates, they idealize their home community and at the same time deprecate its shortcomings. This dissatisfaction and unrest finds an expression in programs of reform.

In April, 1920, the expatriated Tepoztecos in Mex-

brought them to the cemetery at Tepoztlán. We came down by night. It took about four hours. We took turns carrying the body. We had to bury without coffins, just *petates*. We made three such trips, each time getting back to the hills before dawn.

"Afterward, when people came back to Tepoztlán, all the animals had been killed and there was no corn left. Many died of hunger and the sickness came. Eight or nine died each day. P. R. lived in the house just across from us in San Sebastian. He was killed in the revolution. He left his wife and seven little children. They all died one after another. They wanted just a *tortilla*, but there wasn't enough.

[1] A minor period of decline occurred in 1928. Residents of Tepoztlán who belonged to the radical agrarian party started a local rebellion in which Tepoztecans were killed. Rebel activity was general in Morelos, and some Tepoztecan *correctos* went to the city.

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185 668 369 565 ico City formally organized themselves into a "Colonia Tepozteco." The prospectus of this organization announced the chief program of the group: to supplant the then-existing military government of Tepoztlán with one elected by the people. The aims of the society were further specified as follows:

I. To establish among the Tepoztecos a center of intercourse which may contribute to the moral progress of its members.

II. To work for the reconstruction and the improvement, moral and material, of the *Municipalidad* of Tepoztlán.

III. To devote special attention to the spread of public education to the end that illiteracy no longer exists in Tepoztlán, employing for this result, without prejudice to the perfection of the Castilian language, the Nahuatl or Mexican idiom, an efficacious means of bringing the masses of the people to understand the transcendence of civilization, and, furthermore, to bring it about that our native tongue be preserved for transmission to the future generations.

IV. To develop a broad civic propaganda so that all Tepoztecan citizens recognize their rights and duties; and

V. To take a direct interest, moral and practical, in the designation of the local authorities of the *pueblo*, so as to realize the aspirations of the Colony.

In September of the same year a *fiesta* was celebrated in a hired hall in Mexico. A daughter of a leading *correcto*, expatriate in the capital, recited a poem about Tepoztlán written by her father. In this the beauties of the valley are hymned, the tragedy of ruin described, and the hopes of the future announced.

[539] Mas tengo fe: las ruinas
Subirán a los espacios,
Sus bases serán topacios,
Sus murallas diamantinas.

Yet I have faith: the ruins
Will rise to the empyrean,
Their foundations will be topazes,
Their walls diamonds.

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Con fuerzas casi divinas,	With strength almost divine,
Tepoztlán en su ardimiento,	Tepoztlán, courageous,
Sus ideales, su aliento	Its ideals, its vigor,
Desplegará con nobleza;	Will unfold nobly;
Si es titánica la empresa,	If the enterprise is titanic,
Es titan su pensamiento.	The thought is a Titan.

In October, 1921, this same group of intellectuals issued a tiny newspaper, *El Tepozteco*, with the motto: "*Nochi ipampa totlacatiliztlal*" ("All for our native land"). This short-lived periodical[1] contained no news, but only editorial sermons on sobriety, patriotism, and especially on reform in Tepoztlán. The editor addressed his compatriots under the *nom de plume* Cihtli-Tepoztecatl ("Paternal Ancestor the Tepoztecan"), writing in the rôle of the eponymous legendary chief returned to advise his people:

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> I come to be with you, to arouse you to the titanic emprise of the reconstruction of our *pueblo;* I come to applaud the strength you may exert so that my Tepoztlán may once again be what it was in the decade past; I come to anathematize those evil compatriots of mine, who, with their apathy or selfish ideas of conflict, obstruct the labor of the good citizens; and I come, finally, to be as I have always been, the mythological personage of our history and of our race . . . . [*El Tepozteco*].

This developing group consciousness is a product of conflict; it is apparently most acute in those individuals who, coming to live in the world of the city, look back upon the world of the folk. The impulse for reform, just described, has much in common with the nationalistic movements of folk minorities of Europe. The phenomenon in Tepoztlán, in the development of

[1] The writer does not know that more than the one issue appeared.

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a native intelligentsia, in the local press, in political ambition, and especially in the linguistic revival, repeats a process that has occurred in many another place where the folk have felt the impact of the city. The pride in the native tongue to a certain extent is shared even by the *tontos*. Among the *correctos* it is more definitely expressed in attempts to keep alive and indeed to "purify" (i.e., to eliminate Spanish loanwords and forms) the beloved tongue. Several attempts have been made in Tepoztlán to organize schools, or discussion groups, for the study and development of Nahuatl. An early leader in this movement is Mariano J. Rojas, native Tepoztecan, now professor of Nahuatl in Mexico City.[1] But several other *correctos* who remain in Tepoztlán assiduously cultivate the language and have attempted to maintain a sort of academy of native speech. The romantic idealization of the language and how it symbolizes local patriotism appear from the following paragraph, published in *El Tepozteco:*

> The sweet and sonorous idiom of our aborigines, of Nezahualcoyotl and Ixtlilxochitl, the idiom of our fathers, which was left us as a sacred heritage, shall not die in spite of those who, although physically they reveal an origin entirely Indian, are ashamed of their race; our language shall live, because there are great and patriotic citizens who do not look down upon their race, who glory in being Indian, who love the members of their race, who greatly esteem their native tongue, and who work, toil and exert themselves for its reconstruction and perfection so that it shall never die.

[1] Author of *Manual de la lengua Nahuatl.*

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This use of the language as a symbol of the Indian heritage has helped to give the movement a racial rather than a nationalistic character.

After the revolution of 1910–23 few of *los correctos* returned to Tepoztlán. Most of those who did go back went back to employ the practical and commercial experience they had acquired in the city in order to earn a living in Tepoztlán. They are the artisans and merchants there today. Of the six men who were most instrumental in organizing the colony of Tepoztecan *émigrés*—the group of intelligentsia—only one returned. Except two teachers, he was the only real intellectual living in Tepoztlán at the time of these observations. The substance of his life-history gives in a specific case the experience passed through by that type of individual who springs from the folk, is no longer entirely at home in it and yet can never quite leave it, and who suffers the conflict and disorganization of his position, with one foot in one world and the other foot in another.[1]

R. G. was born in Tepoztlán about forty-six years ago. He is apparently a pure-blooded Indian. His father was poor, but, like the other Tepoztecans, had his *milpa*. He was a man of some education, and, after the federal government had taken charge of the pre-Columbian ruins above the town, he was made "keeper of the monuments" at three *pesos* a day. The son, R., lived in Tepoztlán until he was nineteen years old. Up to that time his only schooling was that of the little local public school. In his own words, he "lived like an animal," running about and having a good time with the other boys but with no ideas or aims direct-

[1] Dr. Robert E. Park has called this type the "marginal man" (art., "Migration and the Marginal Man").

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ed toward any other interests than those offered by the ordinary life of the town. At the age of nineteen he was sent by his father to school in Cuernavaca. A great many of *los correctos* have studied in Cuernavaca. Because of the tourists and its position on the railroad and the fact that it is the seat of the state government, Cuernavaca is far more sophisticated than Tepoztlán. R. G. studied in the secondary school there. Evidently his interest in study was aroused, for he then went on to a normal school in Mexico City.

In Mexico City one of the ruling passions of his life—his interest in the Nahuatl language—had its origin through a friendship he picked up with a North American priest and amateur archaeologist. To R. G., Nahuatl had been with Spanish equally the language of intimate home life. But through the archaeologist he received a Nahuatl grammar and from him he first made acquaintance with the literature describing the past glories of his Aztec forbears. The Nahuatl language became for him a symbol of gradually developing race consciousness. He entered into discussions with the archaeologist on the ancient forms of the language and studied it with the idea of bringing back to use the sacred pure original forms.

He had made only brief stays in Tepoztlán when the revolution broke out, and was of course in Mexico City all during that period. He took an active share in organizing the "Colonia Tepozteco," and entered enthusiastically into the plans for the restoration and reform of Tepoztlán. All during this time he was employed at various clerical occupations. During the early years of the revolution he met and married a *mestiza* woman, part Tarascan Indian, part Spanish. Although he is apparently proud of his pure Indian blood, he married a woman lighter skinned and closer to the Spanish tradition than himself. At about the same time he became acquainted with the authorities in charge of anthropological work for the government, and was employed in a minor capacity in connection with the work of that department. When he was asked to take part in an ancient Aztec pageant which the department had arranged as a part of the deliberate revival of the ancient cultural traditions of the folk, R. G. refused indignantly to make himself ridiculous by dressing up in

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feathers. He offered instead to write and deliver an oration in Nahuatl pointing out the beauties of the Nahuatl language.

By the time the revolution was over R. G. had four children. Their situation in Mexico City was fairly comfortable. But he was only one of a mass of low-paid white-collar employees with little opportunity to gain recognition now that the Tepoztecan colony was broken up, and he had felt more intensely than most the desires to, as he put it, "lift up my homeland out of the sink into which it has fallen." Just then his father, who was living in Tepoztlán as "keeper of the monuments," died, and R. G. asked for and secured the post for himself. He returned to Tepoztlán, to the job, the house, and the *milpa* of his father. In spite of the misgivings of his wife, who is a city person and had moreover her own family in Mexico City, he transported himself and family, a few pieces of furniture, and the Nahuatl grammar to the mud-floored, windowless *adobe* house that had been his birthplace. He launched at once into his efforts at civic reform, promoting new roads, new street lights, and a school for the instruction of Nahuatl. He met with the apathy and often open amusement of his townspeople. The practical reforms ended with the installation of a few gasoline lamps. The school failed because, he says, "it was opposed by the priest." In Mexico City R. G. had become an atheist and anticlerical. He was equally out of sympathy with the small radical political group, who are *tontos*.

By the end of his fifth year in Tepoztlán he was thoroughly uncomfortable in both body and soul. His wife, suffering from the hardships of the primitive mode of life, was an invalid, dragging herself out of bed in order to do the necessary work about the house. She was extremely isolated, for she had not been able to adjust or interest herself in the life of the town. Her only desire was to get back to Mexico City. Her husband, a more sanguine person, was at times hopeful and passionately enthusiastic, at times profoundly disillusioned. To himself he is a figure in Tepoztlán, but one who goes unrecognized; and toward *los tontos* he maintains an attitude which some of them feel to be patronizing and critical, while he moves among them making elaborate jokes in Nahuatl. He is a lively, agreeable person but sensitive and proud. He is disillusioned, yet he continues to hope for the

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159 Tepoztecan millennium. At bottom his attitudes are those of
360 other Tepoztecans, but all is overlaid and colored by self-con-
565 sciousness, and by a consciousness of the world outside not shared by his neighbors. During the sickness of one of his children he put equal weight on folk and city medicine. He laughs at *los aires*, but like his neighbors he thinks it unsafe to sleep out of doors; for him, however, it is because "germs drop from trees."

In 1926 the death of two of his children and a minor revolutionary disturbance in Morelos provided the occasion for his departure for Mexico City. In so doing he abandoned his dreams and forsook his status. But a partial transfer of desires has taken place; he talks now of learning English and coming to the United States. There one can make money, and there scientists are interested in his language.

R. G. can be understood partly in terms of his particular temperament, but partly in the light of that development of racial and national consciousness that has so marked the last two decades in Mexico. As he sees Tepoztlán partly through the eyes of a man of the wider city-world, so are the folk of Mexico coming to see themselves. His dreams and despairs, his crudities and his sensitiveness, are those of his country.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE INTERMEDIATE COMMUNITY

The culture of Tepoztlán appears to represent a type intermediate between the primitive tribe and the modern city. It has, one would venture, its nearest analogues in the peasant communities of the more backward parts of Europe, of the Near East, and of the Orient. To the extent that Tepoztlán is economically and mentally self-sufficient, to the extent that its social heritage is local and is transmitted without the use of writing, to the extent that all knowledge is intimate and personal and is closely associated with the ancient habitat of the people, the community resembles a primitive tribe. But just to the degree that Tepoztlán conceives itself as a part of the outside world, and that the Tepoztecans define their personal problems in terms of modern city civilization, it is unlike a tribal society. The Tepoztecans are primarily Tepoztecans, but they are also, if somewhat more remotely, Mexicans. Their society might be called a "folk" community, in a more special sense than that in which the term is often used.

So little, outside of the material culture, are elements of pre-Columbian custom preserved that it presents small opportunity to a culture historian interested in the character of the aboriginal society.

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177 Only from the point of view of history or of romantic appreciation is Tepoztlán an "Aztec *pueblo*." The elaborate ritual and philosophic scheme which distinguished the pre-Columbian culture was carried by the priestly class; and these meanings were practically extirpated by the conquerors. The society was, one might say, decapitated. The ancient household techniques remain, but the ancient values are gone.

[121] But if the interest is not in depiction, but in studying social change as it takes place—in social anthropology as contrasted with ethnology, in the terminology of Radcliffe-Brown[1]—then Tepoztlán presents an excellent opportunity. This opportunity is for the study of the change whereby a folk community is slowly becoming more like the city. This change is a case of diffusion, occurring in an easily observed situation, so slowly as not to accomplish the disorganization of the community, and under practical circumstances which liberate the student from responsibility to record the fragmentary vestiges of a disappearing culture.

177 ●369 [565] The frontier of this change is between *los correctos* and *los tontos*. This frontier is a geographical, not merely a figurative, frontier. The diffusion of city traits can be observed and expressed in spatial terms. The point from which changes originate is the central *plaza*. This is at first confusing to one accustomed to examples of the diffusion process taken from tribal

[1] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, art., "The Methods of Ethnology and Social Anthropology."

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societies. There the changes that originate in the center of an area are those modifications locally developed in accordance with the characteristic type of the area, while the changes that take place because of contact with another culture take place on the periphery. But here, with a paradox that is only apparent, the periphery of change is at the center. This is because the contact with the city takes place here. Here visitors come. Here are trade, machinery, and print, so far as these come at all to Tepoztlán. And here, by a sort of selection, are drawn the tradespeople whose rôles have been determined by urban competition and who are familiar with city ways. These people—the tradespeople and other *correctos*—on the one hand, communicate by direct face-to-face relations with *los tontos* on the periphery, and, on the other hand, through their memories of the city, and by means of letters, newspapers, and visits to the capital, communicate with the city. It is as though there were, in this central zone where live *los correctos*,[1] two overlapping culture "areas": a culture of the folk, with communication by direct contact, and a culture of the city, which impinges on the other culture in another dimension, by means of communication which transcends space.

The ways of the city diffuse outward from the central *plaza*. They are not carried outward by migration, because the interests and activities of *los correc-*

[1] Of course there is no definite zone, but merely a tendency for *los correctos* to dwell, and for city traits to occur, near the *plaza* rather than near the outskirts.

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tos cause them to live near the *plaza* and so keep out *los tontos*, and also because people continue to occupy the house sites of their ancestors. By spotting the traits on a map of the community the distribution of city traits as compared with folk traits could be indicated. An example of such a distribution is given on the accompanying map. Here are contrasted the distributions of two sorts of professionals. Each letter indicates the home (except in a few cases this is also the place of business) of an individual with a recognized specialty. On the one hand are those specialists —tradespeople and artisans—who practice European techniques and who mostly acquired their specialties through economic competition. These are in general found near the *plaza*. On the other hand are the midwives, herb doctors, and fireworks-makers, who practice more ancient, traditional techniques and who in more cases came into their rôles by birth. These tend to be found toward the periphery.

The upper three *barrios*, San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastian (and, to a somewhat less extent, Santa Cruz), are the most remote from the *plaza* and are *barrios* of *tontos*. These three contain the greatest proportionate number of magical specialists and not a single rational specialist of the sorts listed. The people in these *barrios* have a different "mentality" from those that dwell around the *plaza*. Racially they are no different, but the experiences they undergo are different. They are "timeless" for one thing; few up there have watches, and they are too far away to hear

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the clock on the *plaza*. Illiteracy is greater up there. The mailcarrier in the months of these observations never delivered a letter to one of these three *barrios*.

These statements, and those that follow, need of course the support of a more substantial body of materials and more careful exploration into the facts. They are made merely to define a problem for further work. In this sense it may be stated that the distributions of various aspects of city ways rather strikingly coincide. Those elements of material culture which were more recently taken over from the city and are still exterior to the Spanish-Indian folk culture, such as forks, felt hats, and metal beds, are to be found in the inner zone of *los correctos*. Here also is most marked the tendency toward secularization of holiday celebration. It is *los correctos* who promote the carnival, with its strongly secularized, commercialized aspect; while it is *los tontos* who control the religious *fiestas*, with their greater detail of ritual and remoteness from commercial activity. The three most important *fiestas* commemorating *santos* occur respectively in San Pedro, San Sebastian, and Ixcatepec, on the peripheries of the community. It is *los tontos* who preserve the most traditional ritual on practical occasions of crisis, such as birth or death. One might venture to guess that the nearer a birth occurs to the central *plaza* the less the proportion of merely ritualistic, expressive behavior and the greater the proportion of purely practical behavior which attends the occasion.

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If the difference between *los correctos* and *los tontos* increases during periods of disorder, it decreases during periods of peace. And during these latter times the progressive advance of city ways, the influence of *los correctos* over *los tontos*, can be observed. This process, it has already been sufficiently suggested, is a process of diffusion. It remains only to point out that this diffusion process may be thought of somewhat more broadly than is usually possible in the instances of diffusion ordinarily considered by ethnologists, where the bare facts have to be reconstructed or learned at second hand.

In the first place, it may be supposed that the diffusion is not merely the communication, between contemporary groups, of the traits usually listed, of technique and ritual. There pass also what can rather awkwardly be called "subjective" traits: mental form as well as mental content. It is not merely that the group comes to employ a new artifact or to adopt a new attitude toward marriage or toward a religious practice. It may be said that the whole mentality correspondingly changes, if by "mentality" is understood a complex of habits employed in meeting unfamiliar problems. Mentality in this sense too is an aspect of culture. If the individual undergoes experiences of a very different sort from those undergone before, he develops a correspondingly new organ, a new mind. The patterns of thinking of a city man, where a multitude of unfamiliar experiences are dealt with by relegating them to convenient classes, are different from

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those of a remote rural dweller whose social objects are all unique and known by their individual characters. So, if it can be shown that *los correctos* tend to reject traditional magical ways of curing disease, for instance, and accept instead the ways of modern life, it might be that such a change be not entirely due to the prestige of city cures but due also to a general tendency to solve problems by means wherein the mechanisms involved are understood.

In the second place, the diffusion is not merely the borrowing of ethnological traits, because the diffusion is accompanied by a change in the attitude which the people have toward themselves. The just-preceding chapter suggests that a study of diffusion here is not merely enumerating elements of culture which the group has or has not, but also involves a consideration of striking changes in the type of personality to be expected in the group. The sensitiveness, pride, and zeal for reform which characterize the individual described in that chapter are perhaps traits that typify the culture of his group (*los correctos*), but they were not borrowed from the city. They are changes which have resulted in him out of the conflict between the two cultures in which, mentally, he is living at the same time. The way a people feel about themselves and about other people is a datum which may be included in a direct study, such as this might be, of the culture process.

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of Cortés in Cuernavaca and on nearby haciendas. This is suggested by the total physical type as well as by local lore. There is a tradition in the village that Negro slaves from Cuernavaca worked as day laborers in the construction of the church. It is said that a Negro lies buried in each of the pillars of the church and that is the reason why the church is so strong.[28]

The village of Tepoztlán well illustrates the Mexican pattern of the domination of the center over the periphery. Since the sixteenth century, Tepoztlán, as the principal village, has dominated the surrounding villages politically, economically, and socially. Tepoztecans today feel superior to the people of the outlying villages, and, by and large, have superior educational facilities, better means of communication, and a higher standard of living. Going from Tepoztlán, the center, to the smaller surrounding villages of the municipio, we find a greater persistence of older customs, less literacy, and more people who speak only Nāhuatl.

Tepoztecans, at various times in the history of the village, have achieved positions of prominence in many fields and have had personal contacts with men in the highest political circles of the state of Morelos and the nation. Many young men have left Tepoztlán, especially in the middle of the last century, to become doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, and priests. Tepoztlán boasts of having produced, within the last fifty years, two governors of the state of Morelos, three justices to the state court, a state senator, and more than half a dozen deputies to the state legislature. Many of these men have kept in touch with their relatives in the village and have been a constant stimulus for culture change.

One of the early Tepoztecans to become a distinguished figure and an important influence in the village was Professor Mariano Jacobo Rojas, who was born in Tepoztlán in 1842. This schoolteacher became a champion of bilingual education

[28] I am indebted to Dr. Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán for calling to my attention a number of seventeenth-century documents, which indicate the presence of Negroes and mulattoes in Tepoztlán. These documents also show that the Inquisition prosecuted the Negroes for taking *peyote* and for their practices of magic and divination. The following declaration of the Negress Louisa, made available to me by Aguirre Beltrán, is typical: "Asked if she knew or presumed the reason for her being called before the board of Inquisition she said that the presumed that it was to learn what she knew about magic performed by a Negro called Domingo Angola who had fled from the jurisdiction of Zacatecas, and that she, having fled from her master, went to the village of Temimilcingo in the jurisdiction of Cuauhnahuac and there ran across him and was in his company for three months since last July; and in this time she saw many times this Negro Domingo talk to some little sticks or dolls dressed as men and others as women, and the sticks talked to him in the presence of everyone; and we heard that they were speaking in Spanish and in the Congo language and they did no less than dance the dances of both nations and sang songs of both nations, clearly and distinctly, so that all of us heard them; and the dolls asked for food; and food was carried to where they were, and after a little while they said; we have eaten, now you eat; and when it was time to steal they said, go it is time [propitious] to steal now, and when it was not time, and they were asked, they would say, now is not time. This darkie Moreno also had two snakes, one of which he took with him when he was going to steal, and the other was left in the house to guard the clothing and the Negro women. And once when I wanted to flee, the snake grabbed out for my foot and bit me as you can see by the mark it has left (which mark she showed us near the heel bone); and this witness continued to say that the other snake which he took along when he went to steal was of the same size and color as the one at home, about half a *vara* long and of two colors, yellow and black, and she heard say that the snake silenced them (the victims of the robbery?)."
From Archivo General de la Nación, Section on Inquisición, 486.254 (Tepoztlán, 1621). (Courtesy of Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán.)

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Fig. 41. Old-style clothing for men.

[178] The new type of dress existed among the wealthier and more citified Tepoztecans in the 1920's but has, during the past twenty years, spread among the rest of the population. For women, the new-style dress (Fig. 43) consists of a one-piece dress (*vestido*), a full-length slip (*combinación*), underdrawers, a long apron (*babero*), and perhaps shoes and stockings. Some of the younger women now use a brassière (*portabusto*), though these, as well as underdrawers, are often dispensed with after marriage. The *rebozo* is also commonly worn, but sweaters, jackets, and even coats are now coming into use. Girls wear one-piece dresses, underdrawers, and occasionally an underslip. The dresses vary in length from below the calves up to the knees.

Modern male dress consists of ready-made pants, a collared and buttoned shirt, and a collared jacket. (See Fig. 44.) Huaraches, now usually made of rubber soles, are still commonly worn, but shoes are worn daily by some, and on holidays and on [292] trips to the city by many. The sombrero is sometimes replaced by a narrow-brimmed [177] felt hat, but only the most citified men in Tepoztlán wear neckties. Modern dress [369] for boys may be overalls or pants and a buttoned shirt. Occasionally a small boy may be seen in a blouse and short pants. Straw hats are universally worn by boys. The *gabán* and serape are now often replaced by a sweater or jacket, and many boys wear shoes.

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Fig. 44. Modern dress for men.

No girl under age 9 and only seven girls under age 19 wore long skirts.[18] The small percentage of women over 40 who wear dresses are women of wealthier or more citified families.

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Women under 40:	Long skirts 10.5%	Dresses 89.5%
Women over 40:	Long skirts 87.5%	Dresses 12.4%

Age is also a factor among men in the wearing of new- and old-style clothing. An analysis of those wearing *pantalones* and those wearing *calzones* shows that the *pantalones* are worn primarily by men under 40, but that *calzones* are more popular among the male population as a whole.

Men under 40:	*Pantalones* 44%	*Calzones* 56%
Men over 40:	*Pantalones* 11%	*Calzones* 89%

In the age group from 1 to 9, the majority of boys wear *calzones*. However, half the boys from age 10 to 19 wear *pantalones*, and the other half, *calzones*.

Occupation is another important factor in determining the type of clothing worn by men. Farmers prefer the old-style dress because, they say, it is better adapted to work in the fields. (See Fig. 45.) *Calzones* are cooler, afford better protection, and are more economical. Huaraches, too, are half the price of shoes and last four times as long. The merchants, artisans, and teachers of the center make up the bulk

[18] In 1948, long skirts were not to be seen among this age group.

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husbands and wives, a young wife often addressed her older husband in *Vd.*, while he used *tú* to her.

The *Vd.-tú* relationship may also exist between employer and employee, particularly if the latter is younger and is well known to the employer. However, if an employer addresses an older employee in the familiar form, it is a sign of lack of respect and is taken to be an insult. When both persons are of the same age and are not strangers, they address each other in the familiar form.

In pre-Revolutionary days it was customary for wealthy *caciques* to address the rest of the population as *tú*, regardless of age, and to be addressed as *Vd.* Today, wealth plays a minimal role in the *Vd.-tú* relationship, in part because of the absence of sharp class differences, in part because of the humble origins of many of the present well-to-do. The memory of the deep hostility and fierce vengeance of the subordinate population toward the *caciques* is also a deterrent in taking advantage of higher economic status.

Men holding political office or political ambitions are generally careful to avoid the *Vd.-tú* relationship with other adults for fear of offending. They prefer the *Vd.-Vd.* relationship, for they seek many *compadres*, or the *tú-tú* relationship in which they acknowledge friendship or acquaintance with most people of their own age group. However, local officials tend to speak condescendingly in the *Vd.-tú* relationship to more humble Tepoztecans, as well as to people from outlying villages, regardless of their age. This attitude of arrogance on the part of the officials and respect for the authorities on the part of the general population is carried over from pre-Revolutionary days, as is the notion that to speak to the local president in the familiar *tú* adds to an individual's importance. However, within Tepoztlán proper, officials no longer dare to express superiority of status to the majority of the adult inhabitants. Only the priest and nuns maintain an *Vd.-tú* relationship with the rest of the population.

The *tú-tú* relationship is an intimate one and is used between husband and wife, sweethearts, and children. It is also used between two people of the same sex and of approximately the same age. However, in Tepoztlán this *tú-tú* relationship does not always imply intimacy, but rather the possibility of intimacy. Thus, it is from the same age group that the *cuates*, drinking companions, singing companions, and so on, are drawn; but for the rest, the *tú-tú* relationship may be almost as reserved and formal as *Vd.-Vd.* In this, Tepoztlán and other rural villages differ from the city where the use of *tú-tú* is reserved for only the most intimate friends, all others of the same age being addressed as *Vd.*

At least among the school children and older students there is a tendency toward urban usage of *tú* and *Vd.*, that is, the custom of having fewer but more intimate *tú* relationships and a greater number of *Vd.* relationships. Traditionally in Tepoztlán, although members of the same sex and age group continue to call each other *tú*, there is a marked withdrawal from intimate relations as they get older and particularly after marriage. The *tú-tú* relationship is undoubtedly a potentially dangerous one to continue, because of the equality of status and the possibility of

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with warm oil of rosemary and violet are given to "heat" the womb. A woman who wishes to prevent conception takes "cold" medicines. A woman who wishes a child and cannot conceive may visit the Virgins of Chalma or Tlaltenango, who are believed to have special powers to grant the desire for children. There is a belief that if conception occurs during the full moon, the child will be strong, and married couples sometimes plan to have intercourse during this time.

The most common symptom of pregnancy is the cessation of menstruation. This is almost always true of a first pregnancy, but may not hold for subsequent pregnancies. Menstruation often does not occur for as long as one or two years after giving birth to a child. Since many women conceive during this period, they do not know that they are pregnant until they feel movement or other symptoms, such as nausea. Sometimes women do not become aware of pregnancy because they continue to menstruate for two or three months after conception. This condition is attributed to *los aires* or to weakness of the back.

When Tepoztecan girls married at a younger age than they do now, they were often ignorant of the signs of pregnancy. They would report the cessation of menstruation to the mother-in-law, who would explain its meaning. The girl's own mother would be advised, but the respect-relations and sense of shame between mother and daughter prevented much direct discussion. The young pregnant wife becomes dependent for advice and care upon her mother-in-law, who may keep the girl's mother informed if she wishes to do so. In later pregnancies, mothers and daughters are generally less inhibited in their behavior toward each other.

Pregnant women make every effort to conceal their condition by carefully covering themselves with their *rebozos*, both at home and in the street. When the pregnancy becomes very obvious, women keep to their homes and the more "careful" mothers remain seated as much as possible, so that their children will not take note of their condition. Women who are careless about concealing their condition are looked down upon. City women who walk in the street without *rebozos* to hide their pregnancy are regarded as particularly shameless. Once a city woman who did not wear a *reboso* came to live in Tepoztlán during her pregnancy, but left shortly because no one would speak to her. Tepoztecans had ostracized her because she was "opening the eyes of their children." More recently Tepoztecans were aroused by the fact that one of the schoolteachers continued to attend school, although in an advanced stage of pregnancy. The school director was chastized, and the teacher was asked to resign.

When a woman knows she is pregnant she informs her mother-in-law, if residence is patrilocal, or her husband, and arrangements are made to hire a midwife. The cost of the midwife has risen, from about ten pesos in 1943 to about twenty pesos in 1948. Before the Revolution, midwives in Tepoztlán received as little as one and two pesos. The rise in price reflects the increasing urbanization of Tepoztlán, as well as the general rise in cost of living in recent years.[3]

[3] In Mitla, in the 1930's, midwives were paid 75 centavos for delivering a girl and one peso for a boy. See Parsons, *Mitla*, p. 78. In Tzintzuntzan, midwives received from 3 to 7 pesos in

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Some Tepoztecans now have borrowed the customs of the city by having separate godparents for the giving of the hands (*padrino de mano*) and another pair of godparents for the nuptial Mass (*velación*), but most couples still follow the older custom of having only one set of godparents. In a few cases of highly acculturated families, the bride has a car waiting at the entrance of the church and the couple ride off for their honeymoon. Some informants expressed the opinion that the time is not far off when this custom will be widespread in Tepoztlán.

After the ceremony it is customary for the couple and the friends and relatives to return to the home of the *padrinos* where refreshments are served, and where the couple again receive marital advice from the godparents. At about noon the couple go to the groom's house. In the old days, it was usual for the couple to carry burning incense over the threshold, and I have seen this tradition carried out on two occasions. A dinner is given with *mole poblano* as the main dish. Many drinks are served, with beer taking the place of *ponche* in the more acculturated homes. After the festivities are over, the guests go home and the couple remain. Most couples do not sleep alone the first or subsequent nights because of crowded living conditions.

Church weddings are becoming increasingly costly, ranging from 300 to 1,000 pesos. Young people of both sexes look forward to having a fine church wedding. If the boy's parents approve of the girl, they will make a fine wedding, even if it means selling their animals or pawning their house. As one informant put it, "I exchanged my cows for a daughter-in-law." If parents are not willing or able to provide a suitable wedding, their son sometimes works and saves to do so himself. Saving for a wedding is much more common than saving to buy a team of oxen, a house, or something which will improve the boy's economic situation. The majority of Tepoztecan couples begin married life with little except their clothing and the satisfaction of having had a nice wedding.

BY FREE UNION

When a man and woman live together as husband and wife without either civil or church marriage, it is referred to as a free union (*unión libre*). The more acculturated Tepoztecans no longer regard this as a form of marriage. But there are many couples who have been living in free union for many years, and they are regarded as husband and wife by all concerned. The children of such marriages, if the parents record their birth in the local registry, have equal rights with other children in cases of legal disputes concerning property. During the days of the Revolution, when priests were unavailable and life was precarious, many people joined in free unions. But the existence of *uniones libres* cannot be explained simply as a phenomenon of the Revolution. Of the fifteen per cent of the couples living in free union in the village in 1940, about half of them were fairly young people, indicating that this type of marriage is not entirely going out.

An analysis of the free unions in the village reveals that the great number were second marriages for one or both of the spouses. In most cases the previous spouse

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the merging of social class differences,[4] but we found that the Revolution had a marked leveling influence, economically, socially, and culturally.

Redfield presented only the positive and formal aspects of inter-personal relations, such as forms of greeting and the respect-relations of *compadres;* he failed to deal with some of the negative and disruptive aspects of village life, such as the fairly high incidence of stealing, quarrels, and physical violence. An examination of the local records revealed that in the year that Redfield lived in the village there were 175 reported cases of crimes and misdemeanors in the local court. Most of these cases were offenses against persons and property. Since not all cases reach the local authorities, this number is indicative of considerable conflict.

Redfield described local politics as a game, but we found that politics was a very serious affair which frequently led to violence. The year Redfield was there, the political schisms culminated in open violence bordering on civil war, and it was this situation which finally resulted in Redfield's leaving the village.

Another important difference between our findings concerns Redfield's delineation of the social structure of the village in terms of what he called the *tontos,* or representatives of folk culture, and the *correctos,* or representatives of city ways. It should be pointed out that Tepoztecans do not conceive of these terms as designations of social classes, in the sense used by Redfield, nor did they twenty years ago. Tepoztecans use the words as descriptive adjectives, with *tonto* meaning stupid, backward, foolish, or ignorant, and with *correcto* meaning well-mannered, well-bred, proper, or correct. The poorest, least educated, and most conservative man may be *correcto* to a Tepoztecan if he is polite and behaves in the accepted manner. Similarly, a well-educated, acculturated man may be called *tonto* if he permits himself to be fooled by others or dominated by his wife. Within any one family, some of the members may be considered *tonto* and others *correcto,* depending almost entirely upon personality traits and manners.

But granting that the degree of exposure to and influence of city ways is an important criterion in making for status differences in Tepoztlán, it is by no means the only one, and certainly not the most significant one in terms of the actual operation of the many status distinctions in the village. Among status distinctions which were then, and are today, more meaningful to Tepoztecans are those of rich and poor, landowners and landless, owners of private lands and holders of *ejidos, ejidatarios* and *comuneros,* farmers in hoe culture and farmers in plow culture, sons of *caciques* and sons of ex-Zapatistas, to mention but a few.

Furthermore, the concept of *tontos* and *correctos,* as social classes representing different cultural levels, led to misunderstanding of the local political situation. The opposing political factions in the village during Redfield's stay were not composed of *tontos* on the one side and *correctos* on the other. The leaders on both sides included highly acculturated and little acculturated individuals, as did the members

[4] In discussing the *tontos* and *correctos,* he writes, "The periodic Revolutions afford, it would seem, a mechanism whereby the difference between the classes is from time to time re-emphasized and the tendency for them to merge is checked." Redfield, *Tepoztlán,* p. 205.

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114 121 own work in the village, it seems to me that the concept of the folk-culture and folk-urban continuum was Redfield's organizing principle in the research. Perhaps this helps to explain his emphasis on the formal and ritualistic aspects of life rather than the everyday life of the people and their problems, on evidence of homogeneity rather than heterogeneity and the range of custom, on the weight of tradition rather than deviation and innovation, on unity and integration rather than tensions and conflict.

Redfield's interest was primarily in the study of a single cultural process: the evolution from folk to urban, rather than a well-rounded ethnographic account. He only incidentally considered Tepoztlán in its historical, geographical, and cultural context in Morelos and Mexico, and attempted rather to place Tepoztlán within the broader, more abstract context of the folk-urban continuum.

The questions he asked of his data were quite different from those asked in this study. For example, unlike the present study, he was not concerned with determining just what Tepoztlán is typical of in relation to rural Mexico; nor was he concerned with determining how a study of Tepoztlán might reveal some of the underlying characteristics and problems of Mexico as a whole. Thus, the Revolution in Tepoztlán is not analyzed in terms of its social, economic, and political effects upon the village, nor in terms of what light it might throw upon the nature of the Revolution as a whole, but rather in regard to the more limited question of the emergence of Zapata as a "folk hero."

114 121 177 369 *CRITIQUE OF REDFIELD'S CONCEPT OF FOLK-URBAN CONTINUUM*

Since the concept of the folk society as an ideal type is, after all, a matter of definition,[7] there can be no quarrel with it as such, provided that it can be shown to have heuristic value. On the basis of our study of Tepoztlán, however, I should like to point out a number of limitations I have found in the conceptual framework of the folk-urban continuum, both as a scheme for the study of culture change and for cultural analysis. These criticisms can be discussed under six related points.

(1) The folk-urban conceptualization of social change focuses attention primarily on the city as the source of change, to the exclusion or neglect of other factors of an internal or external nature. So-called folk societies have been influencing each other for hundreds of years and out of such inter-action has come cultural change. As we have seen, the archaeological record in Tepoztlán, as well as in other parts of Mexico, indicates quite clearly a great mingling of peoples and cultures, which dates back at least a thousand years before the Spanish Conquest. Tepoztlán itself

[7] It should be noted that Redfield's use of the term "folk" and "folk society" has not always been consistent. In the study of Tepoztlán, he used it sometimes in a non-technical and popular sense, as when he speaks of folk dances, folk music, and folklore. (Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 173.) But for the most part he defines the folk society as an intermediate stage between the truly primitive tribe and the urban community. This position was also taken in his article on "The Folk Society and Culture" in 1940. But in 1947, in another article ("The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, p. 293) he sets up the folk society as an ideal type which includes the primitive tribal society.

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was first conquered by the Toltecs and later by the Aztecs, and with each conquest came new influences, new religious ideas, and new customs. 114 121

Another example of non-urban factors in culture change can be seen in the case of Tepoztlán and other parts of Latin America, where the introduction of rural culture elements was at least as far reaching in effect as any changes brought about by later urban influences. Similarly, we find that the Mexican Agrarian Revolution (particularly in its Zapatista phase) was a profound influence for change, but can hardly be classified as an urban influence. It is evident that the folk-urban continuum concept deals with only one of a wide variety of situations which may lead to culture change.[8] In the case of Tepoztlán, to study the urban factors alone would give us only a partial picture of culture change. 177 369

(2) It follows that in many instances culture change may not be a matter of a folk-urban progression, but rather an increasing or decreasing heterogeneity of culture elements. For example, we have seen that the incorporation of Spanish rural elements, such as the plow, oxen, plants, and many folk beliefs, did not make Tepoztlán more urban, but rather gave it a more varied rural culture. The introduction of plow culture in Tepoztlán did not eliminate the older system of hoe culture but gave the Tepoztecans an alternative and, in some ways, more efficient method of farming, making for greater heterogeneity in the economic life and in the forms of social relationships.

(3) Some of the criteria used in the definition of the folk society are treated by Redfield as linked or interdependent variables, but might better be treated as independent variables. Sol Tax, in his study of Guatemalan societies, has shown that societies can be both culturally well organized and homogeneous and, at the same time, highly secular, individualistic, and commercialistic.[9] He has also shown that inter-personal relations in a small and homogeneous society can be characterized by formalism and impersonality. His findings are supported by our Tepoztecan study. Moreover, our study shows other possible combinations of variables. Thus, whereas Tax found family disorganization as a concomitant of commercialism, in Tepoztlán the family remains strong, and there is little evidence of family disorganization. Moreover, collective forms of land tenure exist side by side with private land ownership and individual working of the land. 114 121 182

(4) The typology involved in the folk-urban classification of societies tends to obscure one of the most significant findings of modern cultural anthropology, namely, the wide range in the ways of life and in the value systems among so-called primitive peoples. The folk society as used by Redfield would group together food-gathering, hunting, pastoral, and agricultural peoples, without distinction.[10] Simi- 114 121

[8] Becker's recent elaboration of his sacred-secular dichotomy, each with numerous subtypes, gives us a much broader typology embracing a wider range of culture change situations. Howard Becker, "Sacred and Secular Societies," *Social Forces*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (May, 1950), pp. 361–75.

[9] Tax, "Culture and Civilization in Guatemalan Societies," *Scientific Monthly*, XLVIII (May, 1939), 463–67; and "World View and Social Relations in Guatemala," *American Anthropologist*, 43 (1941), 22–42.

[10] To apply the term "folk society" to high cultures like that of the Aztecs (Tepoztlán was

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FROM 1910 TO 1920

Tepoztlán suffered extremely during the years of the Revolution, and village life was completely disrupted. The village was repeatedly occupied by the opposing forces, homes were burned, crops and animals destroyed, and the people completely impoverished and forced to flee. A large number of Tepoztecans had their first contacts with city life at this time. Village population declined markedly, many having lost their lives in battle or as a result of hunger and illness. With the Revolution, the political power of the *caciques* in Tepoztlán was broken, and the old class distinctions were abolished.[28] The church barely functioned during this period and religious life was at a standstill.

FROM 1920 TO 1930

In the ten years after the Revolution, the village struggled back to normalcy. Population increased rapidly as people returned and as living conditions improved. In 1930, constitutional government was established in the state of Morelos, providing for independent municipios and "free" elections. New political factions arose, reflecting the post-revolutionary tension and unrest, which culminated in a minor civil war in Tepoztlán. The many restrictions placed on the church by the new federal government caused the church to shut its doors, so that religious life was again at a minimum. In 1920, the Colonia Tepozteco was established in Mexico City, exposing Tepoztlán to a permanent and active urbanizing influence.

FROM 1930 TO 1945

The changes which occurred in the past twenty years have been far reaching and may be summarized as follows: a rapid increase in population, an improvement in health services accompanied by some decline in the importance of *curanderos*, a marked rise in the standard of living and the aspiration level of the people, the growth of a class of small landowners, the development of a greater variety and specialization in occupations, a decrease in the use of Náhuatl, and a corresponding spread in the use of Spanish, a rise in literacy and the beginnings of regular newspaper reading, and a greater incorporation of the village into the main stream of national life.

The primary influences for change have been the new road, the granting of *ejidos*, and the expansion of school facilities. Corn mills were also important. Be-

[28] Here again, the concrete historical data do not follow the logic of the folk-urban continuum. One of the criteria used in Redfield's definition of the folk society is that it is a classless society. As we go toward the urban pole of the folk-urban continuum we might expect greater class differentiation. But Tepoztlán today shows much less class stratification than in 1910, so that we might conclude that Tepoztlán was more of the folk society type today than in 1910. Similarly, the classless society of the future, as envisioned by the socialists, would, according to the folk-urban continuum, have to be considered a folk society. Becker has avoided this difficulty in his sacred-secular dichotomy by setting up subtypes under each category. He distinguishes two types of sacred societies, the folk and the prescribed, each in turn with their subtypes. The socialist society would probably be classified under the sacred-prescribed type.

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177 later introduced them to the village. Here we find a process similar in some respects to the case of the enslavement of the Negro in the New World.[24]

A third factor which conditioned the nature of change in the colonial period was the class structure whereby the Indians or the lower classes were socially isolated from the upper class. This lasted throughout the colonial period and up to the Revolution of 1910.

Another more general factor, which facilitated the diffusion of Spanish culture, was the basic similarities between the native and Spanish colonial cultures. Both were stratified feudal societies, both had a system of communal landholding, in both the religious and social structure was closely interwoven, both had well-developed markets. In addition, they shared many more specific traits, such as the use of flowers with images, pilgrimages to sacred shrines, the use of incense, the concept of lucky and unlucky days, and a host of other items.

Other factors which influenced the diffusion process was the obvious superiority of some Spanish matériel, such as the gun, compared to the bow and arrow; or the tile roof, compared to the thatched roof. Finally, the acceptance of one trait required the acceptance of related traits, as we have seen in some detail in the example of plow culture.

[369] During the nineteenth century most of the changes in the village were in the form of an increasing urbanization of the upper class in the village. However, the more urban culture of this group did not spread widely to the mass of the population primarily because most of the traits were of no practical use and were economically out of their reach. Moreover, unlike the colonial period, there was no new group in the village which stood to benefit by spreading new traits. The only exception to this was a small movement to increase literacy.

The major characteristics of the acculturation process since the Revolution were the increased contacts with the outside, the breakdown of the internal barriers to [462] social mobility, the increase in wealth. In contrast to the colonial period, in which the work of men was primarily affected, it was the work of the women that was affected in this period, by the corn mills, the sewing machines, and the bus lines.

IMPLICATIONS OF CHANGE

What are the implications of the total findings of this study for administrators, social scientists, and others concerned with the problem of improving life in communities like Tepoztlán? In the first place, it is important to recognize that Tepoztecans do not have many of the problems which beset our own modern industrial civilization. In Tepoztlán there is little exploitation of man by man; no single individual or group has power over others. Indeed, the lust for power and prestige motivates few people in this village. Nor are the anxieties and frustrations those which come from living in a highly competitive society, in which the fetish of personal success places a great burden upon the individual.

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[24] See, for example, Herskovits, *Trinidad Village* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1947).